the merchants of the town, and gardens. The Turkish serai and the main body of the town were to be found in the valley, close to the river. The bluff commands a magnificent view of the surrounding countryside, the peak of Sari Hasan Beg rising 8405 feet above sea level to the northeast, that of Handrin Dagh 8600 feet to the southeast, and the cliffs of Kurrek Dagh to 7500 feet to the west. During the first World War, however, a Russian army entered the valley and destroyed the town, slaughtering those inhabitants who remained behind, as well as the Turkish wounded who had been sheltered in a mosque. Most of the populace fled to Erbil, and only several hundred families of the original population returned after the end of the war.

The town was gradually rebuilt during the decade which followed the first World War, not in the valley, but on the bluff formerly called Qala Tiluk which is a formidable defensive position against infantry, for the gorges of the Rowandux and Handrin rivers protect it on three sides. This is the new Rowandux, and the site of the older is occupied only by an army barracks constructed by the British and a small aggregation of buildings known as Kawlokan. A description of the new town will be found in the study to follow. Rowandux is joined to the modern automobile highway by a road which follows the Rowandux river east to a point named Jindian where a steel bridge crosses the high rocky banks of the river. The town is on the old caravan

route, a path unsuitable for vehicles, but still used by the villagers, and several tracks lead off to the villages at its rear. Rowandus proved itself advantageous for an initial investigation of Kurdish culture, for it has a basic population of merchants and landowners whose life is considerably richer and more complex than that of the poor farmers and shepherds. To obtain the most complete portrayal, of course, a desirable supplement should be obtained from the villagers and the nomads in future work. In relation to the second problem, however, the impact of the state on Kurdish society, Rowandus was ideal, because it was in the town that the new class of society, that of the government officials and officers, had replaced the few Ottoman officials and the first signs of change could be observed. The first object of this study, then, is the analysis of Rowandus as an administrative and mercantile center and Kurdish life as it is to be observed there. The second object is the determination of the way in which the imposition of a new order of society has affected the Kurds.

or religious. In Ottoman times, while it[A] was an administrative center under Turkish rule, Rowandus had considerable importance because it lay astride the trade route between Iran and Erbil, and from Erbil the Jezira plain and Syria, and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old direction need have no reference to the town itself. With an obvious political background, the British mandate in Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle Eastern affairs, much of this same trade has dwindled. Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed above and merchandised in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware, cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more precious items still preserved in Rowandus households as family heirlooms. With the British domination of the markets of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted almost completely from the north to the south. One never sees an item manufactured in the Soviet Union in the bazar of Rowandus. It may be supposed that the Turks selected Rowandus as a seat of government because of this importance in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town under Erbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of

[A] [i.e., the town of Rowandus.—Analyst]

8: Leach E.S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

554 addressed by it. Ali Agha of Bayat's full title is Hajji Ali Agha and he is sometimes addressed simply as Hajji. The nephew of Hamid Amin of Banyarim had also made the pilgrimage and I never heard him called anything but Hajji.

The title Sayyid implies a descendant of the Prophet and carries with it the right to wear a green turban. The descent is probably in most cases mythical; anyway the Sayyids whom I met had every appearance of being pure bred Kurds. In the Balik area the only persons claiming this honour are the two Shaikhs of Khalan and Nim - Alaeddin and his uncle Chaidullah.

554 609 The Turkish term Effendi is frequently applied to town notables who have no tribal linkage and thus cannot be called Aghas:- thus Mustapha Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz. Similarly it is a title applied to scholars - my interpreter was known everywhere as Khayis Effendi.

Hakim (arabic 'doctor') is applied only to foreigners. I acquired this title myself after resolutely refusing to be either a 'Lord' or a 'Major'.

The field of investigation

102 The field of investigation is shown on the two maps at the end of this volume. It has been found impossible in a single colour line drawing to show the contour features of the country at all adequately and altitudes are merely indicated in figures. The area is covered by sections I 38 and J 38 of the International Map of the World (Scale 1: 1,000,000) while the Rowanduz area appears on section L. 3 on the 4 miles to 1 inch War Office map of Iraq, Persia and Turkey in Asia.

102 131 Map 1 which shows the whole of the Erbil liwa of Iraqi-Kurdistan is divided into three areas A, B and C having both geographic and ethnographic significance.

• [487] A. Rowanduz. This area, the main field of study, is shown in enlarged scale on Map 2. Prior to the construction of the motor road some ten years ago, this area was extremely inaccessible. Practically the only way of reaching the region was by way of a bandit infested mule track that led along the edge of the precipitous Rowanduz Gorge. The area is extremely mountainous. Rowanduz itself is some 3,000 feet above sea level and the peaks on the Persian border reach above 12,000 feet. Cool and well watered it presents a tremendous contrast to the arid plains of Mesopotamia. Comparitively little land is suitable for cultivation, and the steep inclines preclude the adoption of modern methods of agriculture.

* For photographs see Map pp. 200, 222.

of modern methods of agriculture. The villages as will be seen from Map 2 are situated mostly in the valleys. East of Dergala village practically the whole area is snow bound throughout the winter. Before the war, though the area was nominally under Turkish domination, the local Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the war the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy adopted by the British administration and the immediate political consequences are described by Hay. Crudely summarised it may be said that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately "backed the wrong man" the administration eventually achieved a relative tranquility by paying all the important leaders a substantial salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of this will be referred to later. Following the abandonment of the mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the Baghdad authorities to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". "A strategic road was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowanduz and continued on to the Persian border; a large military barracks was established at Rowanduz with subsidiary police posts at Rayat and Galala. The economic and political consequences of the building of this road have been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A are the poverty of the soil resources; the severity of the winter; the extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication between the various valleys; and the fact that such "tribal disintegration" as is now found is all of fairly recent origin dating for the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment of permanent police authority in the Rayat valley.

B. Foothill Area. This area corresponding approximately to the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact with the Arab world and western "sophisticated" influences generally. At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense "directly administered" by the police. Hay's account (1920) makes it appear that conditions were very similar even in his time though the process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the interval. The potential economic resources of the district are probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by A.M.Hamilton - Road through Kurdistan.

1/A [Rowanduz -- Rayat]